/271/

616 614 Čera Phratry:

Bādejaba (Chief) clan

O Čera (Čera of the Ibis) clan

Ki (Tapir) clan

Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Big-Armadillo-Red-Arara-Gilthead) clan

Bakoro clan

Bóro (Pendant of the lower lip) clan

Beside these clan divisions properly so called one finds a certain number of distinctions of different character (Note I, p. 37).

361 621 343 The morphological structure of the village directly indicates the social organization. The houses are distributed around a big circle, the approximate center of which is occupied by the men's house (baíte-mannanage°); the latter is built on a north-south axis.

621 616 614 A line west-southwest and east-northeast, very oblique in relation to this axis, divides the village into two practically equal halves: the southeastern part comprises the Tugare houses; the northwestern part is formed by the Čera houses. The diameter of the circle having been set a little too short for the number of houses, one house belonging to the Ki clan has been pushed slightly behind the alignment (Pl. VIII, A /see p. 46/: in the foreground the O Čera Čębege^{w}ō hut partly hiding a Ki hut. In the background, from left to right, the Ki kujagoreŏ, Bokodori Čębege^{w}ō, and Bokodori-Kōge baiaddada^{w} huts). Numerous native sources state that in the past this situation was normal and that the village was composed of several concentric circles, the houses belonging to the same clan being located approximately one behind the other.

621 616 614 823 The layout of the village thus expresses the social structure. But it also expresses its geographical position. A second axis, very oblique in relation to the preceding one and perpendicular to the course of the river, in turn divides the village into two halves, the Čăbōge^{w}ōge, i.e., "the upstream ones," and the Čębege^{w}ōge, or "downstream ones." Each of these halves evidently includes houses belonging to both phratries. And the spatial distribution of the clans in the interior of each hemicycle causes three of them to

/271 cont./

621 be found also divided into two groups according to their position
616 in relation to the river. Thus we have: /272/
614
823 Ewâguddudõge čẹbegeᵘõge: those of the downstream Buriti
Ewâguddudõge čâbọ̃geᵘõge: those of the upstream Buriti
Āróre čẹbegeᵘõge: those of the downstream Caterpillar
Āróre čâbõgeᵘõge: those of the upstream Caterpillar
Bokodori čẹbegeᵘõge: those of the downstream Big-Armadillo
Bokodori čâbõgeᵘõge: those of the upstream Big-Armadillo

In contrast, the Paiwe, Bakoro, and Bóro clans are entirely upstream; the Ki, O, Bādejeba, and Apibore clans are entirely downstream.

552 The two houses which respectively face the two doors of the
592 men's house and through which the diameter dividing upstream and
[823] downstream passes have a special name, which expresses their
[345] special position. Their inhabitants are called Baiãddadaᵛge, i.e., "those who look at the house" (Fig. 15, Nos. 4 and 17 /see p. 6 /). It should be noted that the door of the men's house
[345] which faces the Tugare half is called Čera, whereas the one facing
[591] the Čera half is called Tugare, marriage being matrilocal (Pl. IX, A /see p. 47 /).

Over and above these spatial determinations the natives also use others, according to enumerative order, importance, or familial relations. Certain houses are called Bo'pokẹjeᵘõge, "the last ones" (literally: Bo', people; pokẹje, again; wo, there; -ge, plural). Thus we have Bãdejeba bo'pokẹjeᵘo (Fig. 15, No. 12), the special name of the last house of the Čera phratry, and Ewâguddudõge bo'pokẹjeᵘõge (Fig. 15, No. 16).

A household can also receive a special name according to the particular importance of the grouping or construction. Hence House 15 is called, perhaps because of its remarkable form, Ewâguddudõge kurigeᵛ, "those of the big Buriti."

[614] Finally, when the distribution of clan members in different houses corresponds to a systematic distribution of relatives of one family, each house is designated by its familial character.

/273 cont./

345
361
614
616
621
823

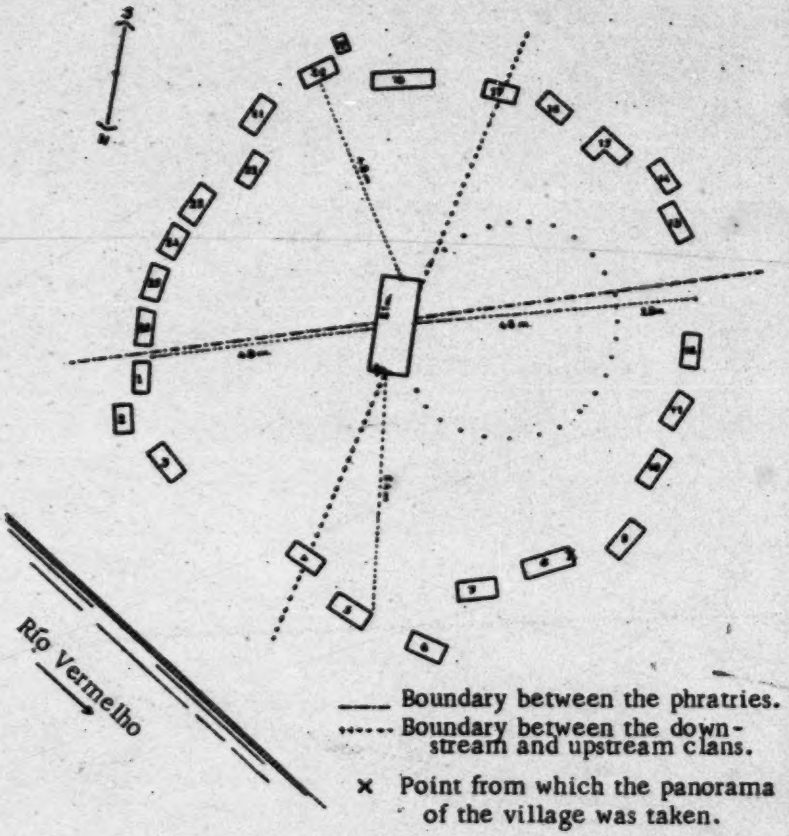

Rio Vermelho
Boundary between the phratries.
Boundary between the downstream and upstream clans.
Point from which the panorama of the village was taken.

Fig. 15.—Plan of Kejara aldeia. Above the boundary between the phratries: the Tugare; below it, the Ẍera. The Cãbõge^{ω}õge are on the left (upstream) and the Cẹbege^{ω}õge on the right (downstream) of the axis which separates them; in the middle, the Baiaddade^{π}ge.

/278 cont./

554 Finally, it seems that the economic hierarchy is continued
551 within the clans and that economic differences accompany the
614 bearing of certain names which are the property of the clans.
[582] These names or classes of names intervene with regard to marriage rules.

Preferential Unions

123 We were not present at any marriage during our stay. The
764 village was entirely absorbed with funeral ceremonies.

582 It was explained to us that a young girl who wants to marry
614 goes into the Baitemannanage* to find the spouse whom she has
616 chosen. But /279/ we must pause on the conditions of this choice.
[345] The exogamy of the phratries does not constitute the only matrimonial prohibition. Each clan contracts marriage, at least preferentially, with a limited number of clans from the opposite phratry, one, two, or three. But these preferential unions are less the province of the clan itself than the internal divisions in the clan, which perhaps have an economic significance but whose essential role seems to be to regulate marriages and which do not coincide exactly with any of the secondary distinctions studied before.

582 Most often these distinctions are established by proper names.
614 It would be a question then of classes each composed of a single
551 individual, or a very small number at least. Given the collapse
[161] of the demographic base of Bororo society, it could hardly be otherwise, even if in the past the categories were more numerous.

The list of clan names which we were able to gather, with the indication of corresponding marriages, is given below.

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the popula-
[439] tion. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[345] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage[a] was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tušawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tušawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

634
463
301

1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

/287 cont./

764 are sung without stopping:

535 ʷuręʰuręʰ	foot, foot
533 kaia kaia	pestle, pestle
manó marid'do	dance of the marid'do
ǩegu'ę	we others
ǩę	we burn
uoro	buriti wine
hu hu	yes, yes
ǩęgiga	we joyous

764 of the Ewãguddu clan, and on the occasion of the death of the
535 same individual (Bãdejeba) another ceremony took place under
614 the auspices of the Paiwe clan. Thus it was the Tugare clans who
616 officiated for the death of a Čera. But in its turn the Čera phratry was obliged to take part in the festival to play the role of partner. "The Ewãguddudoge dance," said the natives, "but the Čera help them...." This duality is well expressed in certain dances where the protagonists, covered with foliage, form in two lines which face the two ends of the bororo, and then part whirling toward the opposite camp, cross each other in the middle of the area, and stop after having accomplished the change of places. Each camp comprises exclusively the dancers of one phratry. After the dances the participants are washed in a flood of water by the members of the opposite phratry.

614 A network of more complex obligations binds the clans among
264 themselves, with exchanges of food consumed in the men's house.
345 Inside the Baitemannanage, about every two hours a man arrives
[272] from his own house bearing a large communal bowl of mingau pre-
[576] pared by his wife. His arrival is welcomed with the loud, joyous ritual cries, "au, au," which strangely break the afternoon silence. Then, in a set ceremony, the contributor goes and gets six or eight men and conducts them to the bowl, where they begin to dip in with their shell plates. The particulars of this ceremony were not given to us; we were able to gather that each clan is obligated to certain other clans, and that hence all furnish each

/287 cont./

614 other with food, at least among the men. For, aside from the
264 meals taken in the male club and those brought to the dancers
345 at the end of each ceremony, each family provides its own food in its private house.

614 Clan privileges rest in exclusive possession of names, songs,
626 dances, and emblems, and in special rights to the utilization /288/
424 of certain techniques, certain objects, and certain materials. These prerogatives are strictly respected. An Indian whom we asked what would prevent a clan's making the ornaments of its neighboring clan for itself considered the suggestion absolutely improbable. Faced with our insistence he told us that the members of the clan would certainly become angry and inflict a correction on the offender; but such incidents, it appears, never happen.

Concrete Expressions of the Social Structure

829 Figures 16 to 19 /see pp. 26, 29, 31, and 32/ summarize what we were able to gather of these concrete expressions of the social structure.

Objects

411 Bows. One finds three types of bows in Kejara:
the ordinary bow, of bare wood, undifferentiated;
the bow for big hunting (Fig. 16). It is identical to the pre-
[531] ceding, but on parts of the sector of bare wood which the left
[824] hand grasps and of the sector covered with rope to protect the wood
[283] from the rubbing of the arrow, the wood is decorated with white rings made from the bark of an uaguassů (noid'do) palm tree and
[614] fastened on with ligatures of vegetable fiber. The number of these rings and their arrangement in relation to the middle of the bow distinguish the clans.

[Text Continues on p. 27]

/297 cont./

Division of Labor

462 Finally, it is impossible to study the distribution of rights and obligations between the clans and phratries, without taking into account the fact that across these varieties of social regulation a strict division of labor between the sexes is maintained. The women cultivate the land, prepare the food, do the basketry and ceramics; they feed the fire and chew the bark which is used to cover the sexual organs. The men hunt and fish, build the houses, and carry out all the work of an artisan character. We never observed spinning. All the masculine labors are carried out in the men's house, which has the appearance of a vast workshop. Only two tasks are done in the familial house: depilation of the women's forehead area, which furnishes the hairs used to make cords and various ornaments; lastly, weaving the cotton bands with which married women bind their ankles, arms, and wrists (Pl. X, A /see p. 48/) is a male obligation always carried out at home.

[283] [345] [283] [286]

/298/ Note I

614 779 It will have been noted that most of the clans and subclans bear the name of an animal or vegetable. This is the case for the four Tugare clans and for six of the eight Čera clans or subclans. Can one use the word totemism in this respect? It is very doubtful. The natives do not maintain, in fact, any relation with their eponyms. They do not show them any respect, their relations do not have any mystical character, no food prohibition exists, and the few ceremonies which take place upon the killing of certain animals seem to be unrelated to the social system. The eponymous animal is freely killed and eaten.

614 Moreover, the choice of eponyms is not made exclusively from the animal or vegetable kingdom. Sometimes a hero is invoked. Hence we find Bakoro for the Bakoro clan, and the illustrious ancestor who gives his name to the extinct Kario Bokodori clan. The Bóro are named after a manufactured object, the

1:Lévi-Strauss--47 E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate IX

345
616

A

535
614

B

C

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--47a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate IX

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

345
535
614
616

A. The men's house, door of the Tugare.
B. Dance of the Paiwe clan.
C. Dance of the buriti clan.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.

Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

Food preparation.—Salt was originally unknown.

All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

841 392 Women wear a gray perineal band, or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

301 Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture [473] [383] necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

302 Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São [386] Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous [237] rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus [755] sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

301 The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92, 237 *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice [184] of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

482 489 Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding [481] [501] aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

283 The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck [345] from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, [301] and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. [286] True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

345 ●
361
137

142
291
301
302

PLATE 58.—Bororo village of Kejara. *Top:* Men's club in foreground. *Bottom:* Women in native dress.
(Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P.432-C]

6:Kozfik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

dren. One special house, larger than the others, is built in the center of the plaza. There the unmarried men sleep, and married men work and perform many of their ceremonies, taking advantage of the seclusion it provides from the women and children. All persons in the Bororo village are divided into two groups, or moieties, membership in which is hereditary. The moieties co-operate in work and compete with each other in recreation.

The Bororo were once among the fiercest tribes of Brazil, and warred against whites and other Indians alike. Today the few villages that remain

[p. 39-F]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

abode, and the entire family, as previously stated, is virtually in a state of nature.

When the primitive residence becomes so unsanitary that even the barbarous occupants cannot longer endure it, they erect a new hut a short distance from the old one and move into it, burning, or merely abandoning the old dwelling. No dray is needed to move such a household, and the packing up is very simple, for the housewife can gather up in a few minutes and carry in one load the entire possessions of the family. At wide intervals of time, the entire population of the primitive city moves out, constructs another cluster of huts on a new site, then burns the old city. This is their method of house-cleaning and of city sanitation. Instead of removing the garbage, they remove the town, or, at least, change their residence. There is no sweeping, dusting, washing, scrubbing, ironing, mending, dress-making, or washing to do in these primitive abodes. The over-burdened civilized housekeeper must admit that primitive housekeeping is not destitute of advantages. One to four families dwell in a hut, each having their own little camp-fire, or *kitchen*, for, in a limited sense, at least, they do not believe in having "two cooks in one kitchen."

In every Bororó encampment, or village, there is one very large hut around which all the family huts cluster. This hut is called the *baihýtu*—great hut—while a small, family dwelling is called a *bai*. This great hut is a public building, or a sort of town hall where all public functions occur. It is also a bachelors' hall where all the single men of the village reside; a kind of club-house or hotel; the village workshop where the men do the most of their weapon and ornament making; and finally, the public brothel. No female of the tribe is permitted to enter this primitive "house of mirth" save at night for immoral purposes, or to participate in funeral ceremonies.

Some Brazilian tribes, instead of having many small huts in each of which two or three families, only, reside, erect one very large hut, one or two hundred feet long and seventy-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Nagarèda man, with much ostentation and politeness, now steps quickly over to the *Sheraidi* group, grasps a man by the wrist, trots him around his wheel, then stops in front of it, announcing by this act that the wheel is delivered to the team that is to run with it. A *Sheraidi* promptly returns the compliment by stepping gravely over to the *To Nagarèda* group and repeating the ceremony. Each man who has now been presented to his wheel and his wheel to him, politely introduces to his wheel, one by one, in the same manner, all the men of his team until each squad of human ants surrounds its own big worm. 526 616

The signal to begin the race being given, each team instantly seized its wheel and ran, pell-mell, yelling wildly, in a mad race for the village. The spectacle suggested strongly a swarm of ants that had seized a huge living worm and were running frantically with it for their dark galleries. Each team tried to maintain its wheel in an upright position, but it took a sag this way and a lurch that way, then finally rolled over onto the running, tumbling, squirming mass and fell to the ground. But picking it up again instantly, they rushed on, headlong, some under it, some on it, some dragging it, while others were being dragged, and all emitting continuously a dull, maniacal roar. Sometimes one team was in the lead, sometimes the other. As they rushed into the savage city through a narrow *alley* between two *private residences*, one of the wheels took a lurch and burst through the wall of one of the residences into the *sitting-room*. At last, both teams threw down their rolls at the same moment in the *public square* near the great hut, amid the acclamations of the entire city. All the contestants now hastened into the great hut to enjoy a savage banquet, leaving their wheels to the women and children, who fell upon them in swarms and began, excitedly, to pull out the *mano* in order to tie it into small bundles for use as pillows. 526 [361] [345] [352]

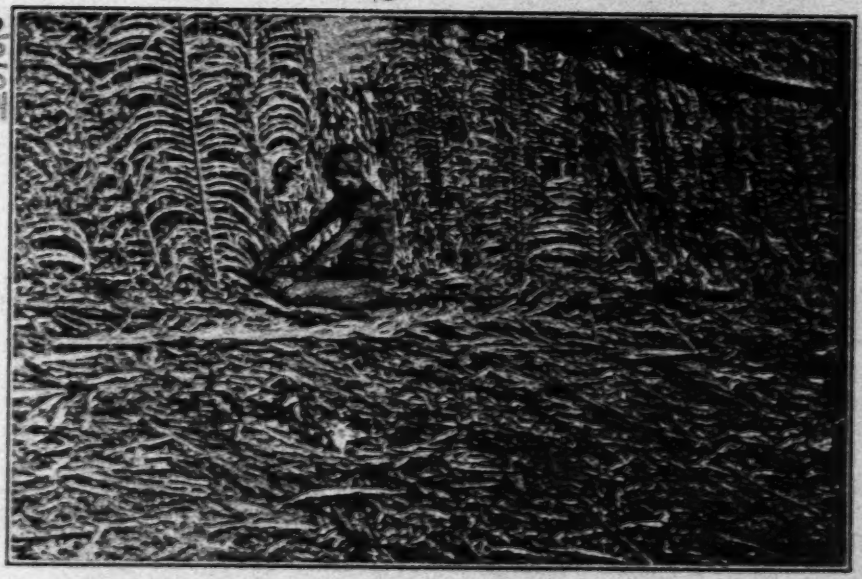
The Bororó imitate Nature also in their musical festivals—if one may call this medley of wild, discordant sounds music. They sing what they call the *bakororó* in the savage town hall nearly every evening just after nightfall. 533 [512] [345]

8: Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909 SP8 Bororo SP8

122

Camping in the Matto Grosso Wilds.

516
705
345
76



Bororó Funeral Ceremonies. The mother of the deceased, her hair jerked out and her body slashed from head to foot, is chanting just outside the great hut.

[Facing 398]

361 some distance before casting ourselves into the current.
[122] Missing the landing place, there was great danger of our losing, not only our effects, but our lives as well.

We found the cluster of huts situated about one mile back from the river, and in the heart of the densest and most impassable upland tangle that I have ever seen. The trees
[137] were fifty feet high and less, and almost numerous enough to form a thick forest, while below them, the whole country was overgrown by a terrible jungle of bushes, briars and coarse grass. A small, circular space, like a gigantic nest, had been cleared in the center of this forbidding thicket, in which fifteen or twenty palm-branch huts clustered in the usual disorder.
[487] This wild man's lair was approached by a serpentine path just wide enough to allow men to pass in single file. The village was hidden away in this manner in order that its position might not be known to enemies, or that it might be very difficult to assault.

122 We were conducted at once to the great hut, where we
345 were entertained while in the village, and in one corner of which we suspended our hammocks and made ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit. But we found this a hot, stuffy, ill-smelling *hotel*, and in addition, the mosquitoes were very numerous and industrious.

622 As soon as we were settled, we asked to see the chief man of the village, who appeared. He was six feet tall, well proportioned, intelligent and dignified, and the finest appearing Bororó I had seen. He seemed to have more real authority, too, than any Bororó captain I had met. The Bororó have
622 no tribal chief. Each village governs itself, independently,
624 having a few elderly men who are captains, in a way, by reason of seniority, in whom the chief authority is vested. But their powers, and the obedience rendered them, seem to be variable and uncertain. A strong character may arise from time to time, and by favoring circumstances, reach a position where he may command the entire obedience of his village. But ordinarily, the chief men do not appear to possess much real authority, individually. Of course, when they go

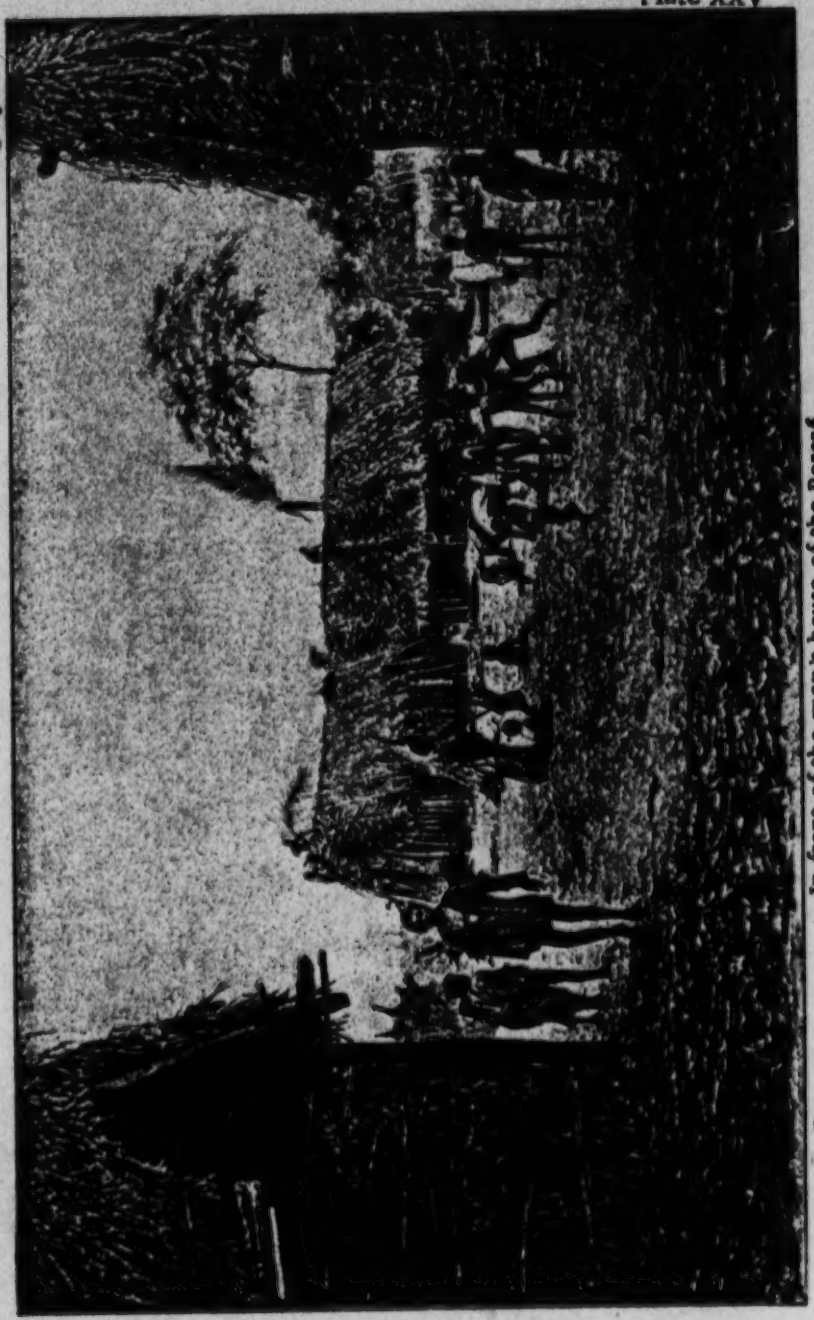
8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bokororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whet-stone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

2: Steinen--552 ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8
Plate XXV
361
526
345



In front of the men's house of the Bororó.

/450 cont./

361 Arrangement of the colony. The principal building of the colony had as its groundplan a long, very narrow rectangle. It consisted of a number of rooms with stamped loam floor, loam-plastered paneled walls, and a low straw-roof; the doors all opened out on the same side facing the main plaza. The furniture was limited to tables, chairs, and chests. On one end was Duarte's one-window room without a door to the outside; then came the room where meals were eaten, where Caldas sometimes taught school in the morning, and where people gathered generally, with a door to the plaza and also an opposite one leading out to the rear, to the left the entrance to Duarte's room and to the right the door to a supply room in which alcoholic spirits were kept and the key to which played an important part in dealings with the Indians. There then followed, with doors to the plaza, the cadêa /jail/, a small detention room for the soldiers, which was always occupied and the inhabitant of which was obliged to spend the day in the hammock, a room for Eliseo and the administrator, and supply rooms. The apothecary had his well-stocked poison-kitchen in a little house by himself which lay a few steps /451/ opposite. The soldiers lived in small ranchos, some of them toward the river, some on the edge of the forest.
[342] Round about lay the Indian huts, like gabled roofs standing on the ground, six paces wide, ten to 13 paces long; they afforded protection against the sun and to some extent against rain, left nothing to be desired in the way of simplicity, and served as an abode for one family each.

●345 In the center of the colony a large area was left free; here stood the so-called ranchão, namely, large rancho or baitó of the Indians, cf. Plate 25 /see p. 552/, ten paces wide and 26 paces long. It, too, was built without any skill, though with the help of the soldiers; the longitudinal sides consisted of poles which were covered carelessly with palm leaves and were so far apart that one could enter almost anywhere; the transverse sides were even more open. The illustration shows the Indians busy repairing the roof with palm branches. The bachelors worked and slept in the baitó; it was also the center for all festivities,

•345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and,
as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the
514 forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the
most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in
Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the
339 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-
241 yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never
used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens
among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians.
There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about
in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by
vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete
freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought
out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the
621 wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó
and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present
at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a
hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20
along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would
be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have
been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time.
As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all
[114] the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case
conceivable.

179 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the
291 Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and in-
dustrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack
of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about
mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief
Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap
themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
583 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
345 there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
629 event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a
hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
582 steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
561 but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
264 families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
554 too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on P.601]

/486 cont./

411 bamboo point, hollowed out with the capibara chisel, and is only loosely fastened with a little resin and string; cf. No. 4. The war arrow, No. 10, also carved out of seriba, bears a very narrow (one to two centimeters) piece of bamboo, round, but sharpened along its entire length (37 centimeters). The bamboo points break off in the body.

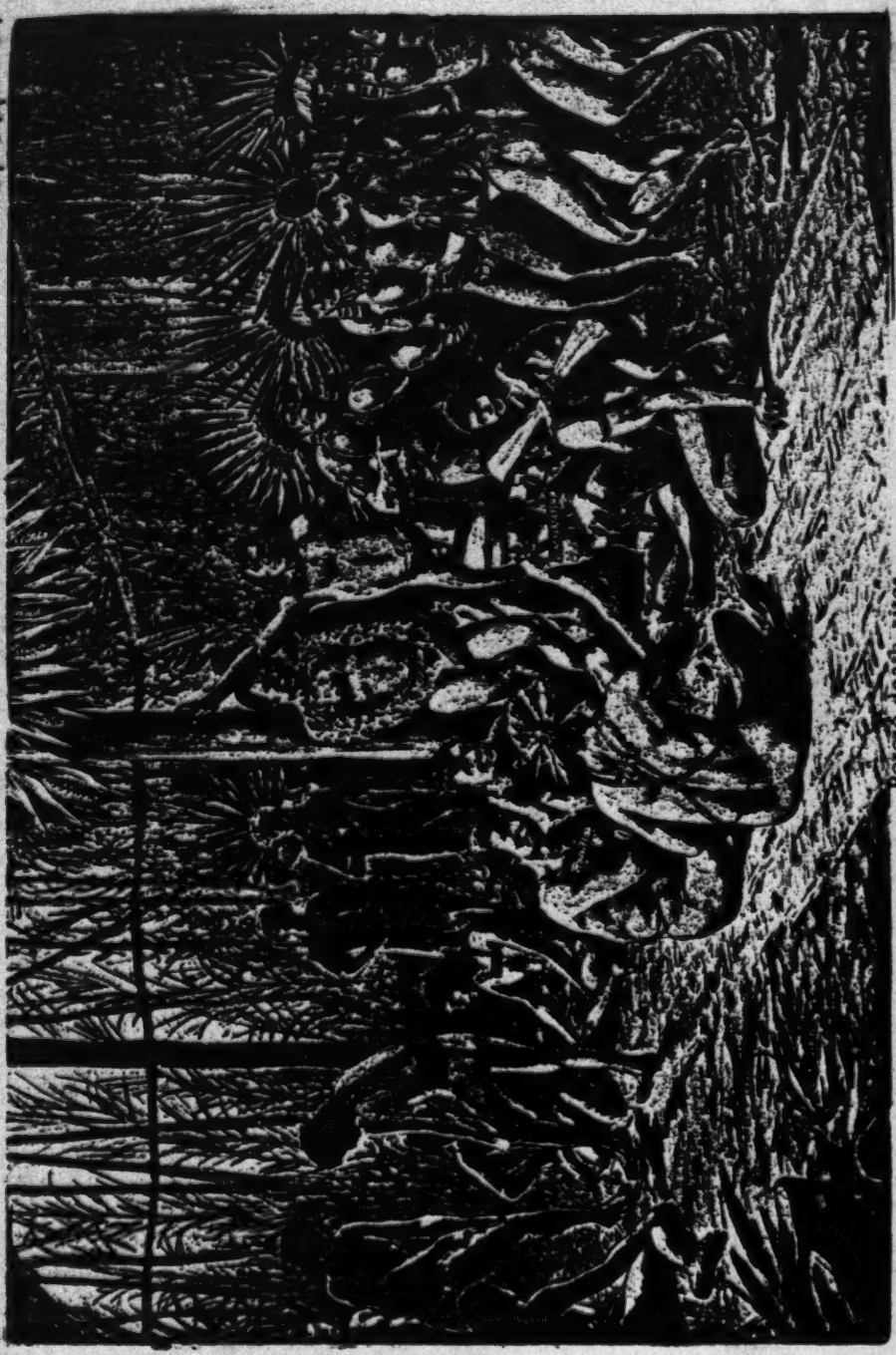
The barbed arrow is equipped with a harpoon device to catch alligators and larger fish. The length of the harpoon arrow in No. 9 was 1.78 centimeters /sic/, 31 centimeters of which should be allowed for the barbed stick fastened to a rope; the shaft, a thick ubá reed, was additionally wound half a meter in breadth.

The snapshot in Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ and Plate 28 /see p. 600/ show the stretching of the bow. The crouching archer holds the bow horizontally; the standing one, vertically. A reserve arrow is held parallel to the bow with the left hand. In this case the arrow rests to the left of the bow on the index finger of the left hand, which holds the bow. At its rear end it is grasped between thumb and index finger, the thumb lets go, the index finger, in extended position, supports and adjusts the arrow more accurately, the other three fingers, especially the middle [171] finger, stretch the bowstring. Thus, the stretching is different from that on the Kulisehu (cf. page 237). In the case of the crouching archer, where the arrow lies on the bow and is slightly pressed against it there by the tip of the index finger of the left hand, the position of the stretching right hand differs insofar as the rear end of the arrow is held between the tightly grasping thumb and the bent index finger.

●345 Work in the men's house and techniques. Each one had his particular place: one who lived in the direction of the river, in the corner facing the river, and so forth, all according to the [571] position of the house of the nearest relatives. Here where the Indians were among themselves there prevailed, except for the sexual practices, a commendable order, even according to our 461 concepts. A person who had nothing to do, of course, idled with great perseverance, but a person who was occupied with his weapons, ornaments, and implements worked indefatigably and

2: Steinen--633 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

965
301
534
535
854
345



Bororo death-rites.